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ABSTRACT

Untracking places previously low-achieving students (primarily from low-income and ethnic or language-minority backgrounds) in the same college preparatory academic program as high-achieving students. The Achievement via Individual Determination (AVID) program of the San Diego (California) schools shifts education policy for underachieving students to a rigorous curriculum with increased support for low-achieving students. The San Diego program has been extremely successful in preparing students for college. Forty-eight percent of the 248 students who completed 3 years of AVID enrolled in four-year colleges, 40 percent enrolled in two-year colleges, and the remaining 12 percent are working, traveling, or doing voluntary work. Parental income and education are not responsible for the impressive college enrollment figures, since students from the lowest income strata are enrolling in equal or higher proportion to those from higher income groups. The search for reasons for AVID's success indicates that teachers explicitly teach aspects of the implicit culture of the classroom and hidden curriculum of the school, and they mediate relationships among families, high schools, and colleges. AVID gives its students social and cultural capital. (Contains 43 references and 6 figures.) (Author/SLD)

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RESEARCH REPORT: 10

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TRACKING UNTRACKING: THE CONSEQUENCES OF PLACING LOW TRACK STUDENTS IN HIGH TRACK CLASSES

HUGH MEHAN, LEA HUBBARD, ANGELA LINTZ & IRENE VILLANUEVA

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TRACKING UNTRACKING: THE CONSEQUENCES OF PLACING LOW TRACK STUDENTS IN HIGH TRACK CLASSES

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Tracking Untracking:

The Consequences of Placing Low Track Students in High Track Classes

Abstract

Recognizing the inequities caused by compensatory education, tracking, and ability grouping, educators are exploring alternative practices. In San Diego, one effort to break down the barriers erected by school sorting practices is to "untrack" students.

Untracking places previously low-achieving students (who are primarily from low-income and ethnic or language minority backgrounds) in the same college-preparatory academic program as high-achieving students (who are primarily from middle- or upper-middle-income and "Anglo" backgrounds). The "Achievement Via Individual Determination" (AVID) untracking program shifts education policy for underachieving students away from a simplified or reduced curriculum toward a rigorous curriculum with increased support for low-achieving students.

The San Diego untracking program has been successful in preparing its students for college: 48% of the 248 students who completed three years of AVID enrolled in four-year colleges, 40% enrolled in two-year colleges, and the remaining 12% are working, traveling, or doing voluntary work. Parents' income and education are not responsible for the impressive college enrollment figures of these untracked students. Students from the lowest income strata enroll in four-year colleges in equal or higher proportion to students who come from higher income strata. Students whose parents have less than a college education enroll in four-year colleges more than students whose parents do have a college education.

In our search for the reasons behind AVID's success, we found that AVID coordinators explicitly teach aspects of the implicit culture of the classroom and the hidden curriculum of the school. They also mediate the relationship between families, high schools, and colleges. In Bourdieu's terms, AVID gives low-income students some of the "social" and "cultural capital" at school that more economically advantaged parents give to their children at home.

INTRODUCTION

Students from linguistic minority and ethnic minority backgrounds and low-income families do poorly in school by comparison with their majority and well-to-do contemporaries. They drop out of high school at a higher rate. They score lower on tests. Their grades are lower. Most importantly, for the topic of this paper, they attend college in smaller numbers (American Council on Education, 1989; Carter & Wilson, 1991).

African-American and Latino students have been enrolling in college more often than in the past, but not at the same rate as white students. In 1970, 26% of African-American high school graduates enrolled in a four-year college. This rate reached a high of 34% in 1976, declined to 31% in 1989, and rose to 33% in 1990. In 1972 (the first year data were available), 26% of Latino high school graduates enrolled in college; this rate increased to only 29% in 1990. Although these college enrollment figures are improving, they are still well below those of white students: 33% of white high school graduates enrolled in college in 1970, and 39% enrolled in 1989 (Carter & Wilson, 1991).

Untracking: An Alternative to Compensatory Education

Compensatory education has been the prevailing strategy employed by public schools throughout the United States to deal with educational inequality. Proponents of compensatory education say educational inequality is the result of a failure on the part of underachieving linguistic and ethnic minority youth. Compensatory education is designed to help these students overcome their failure through remedial programs. Students who have been unsuccessful in school are placed into special programs. The curriculum in compensatory education programs is reduced in scope, content, and pace. Students receive a reduced curriculum, delivered in simpler form at a slower pace. Proponents of compensatory education believe that underachieving students will develop academic skills in remedial programs and will be promoted to regular education or even college-bound programs.

Research has shown, however, that the schools' practices of tracking, ability grouping, and testing contribute to inequality (Cicourel & Mehan, 1983; Mehan, 1992; Oakes, 1985; Oakes, Gamoran, & Page, 1992; Page & Valli, 1991; Rosenbaum, 1978). Students placed on remedial tracks seldom catch up to their peers. They seldom receive equivalent curriculum or instruction. Furthermore, they often suffer the stigmatizing consequences of negative labeling (Mehan et al., 1985; Mercer, 1974). Placement in vocational and non-college preparatory classes can trap ethnic and linguistic minority students despite their good achievement in school, as this comment by a Latina high school student illustrates:

> My first day signing up for high school . . . my Dad had been working in the fields, but he came home early this day to take me so I could get registered . . . . There was a counselor . . . and I took my eighth grade diploma which was straight As, and I was valedictorian of my eighth grade . . . and I told him I would like to go to college and could he fit me into college prep classes? And he looked at my grades and everything, and said, well, he wasn't sure I could handle it. My dad didn't understand. He was there with me. And this counselor put me in non-college prep classes. I remember going home and feeling just terrible. (Gándara, 1994, p. 73-74)

Recognizing the inequities caused by compensatory education, tracking, and ability grouping, educators are exploring alternatives to these practices (Wheelock, 1992). "Accelerated schools" (Levin, 1987), "cooperative learning" (Slavin, Karweit, & Madden, 1989), "restructured schools" (Sizer, 1992), "school development programs" (Comer, 1988), and "detracking" (Oakes et al., 1993) are just some of the reform efforts under way. In San Diego, one effort to break down the barriers erected by school sorting practices is to "untrack" students.

The AVID Untracking Program

The San Diego approach to untracking places previously low-achieving students (who are primarily from low-income and ethnic or language minority backgrounds) in the same college-preparatory academic program as high-achieving students (who are

primarily from middle- or upper-middle income and "Anglo" backgrounds). Untracking is different from detracking. Untracking is the process of assisting a small number of students to move from general and vocational tracks to the college preparatory track. Detracking, as Oakes et al. (1993) explain it, refers to the process of dismantling the tracking system in one comprehensive effort. As we discuss in the conclusion of this paper, untracking has the potential to be the first step in a detracking effort.

The "Achievement Via Individual Determination" (AVID) untracking program shifts education policy for underachieving students away from compensatory or remedial instruction. Instead of simplifying instruction or reducing the curriculum for underachieving students, AVID attempts to maintain a rigorous curriculum for all students while adding increased support for low-achieving students.

The idea of untracking low-achieving students was introduced to the San Diego City Schools in 1980 at Clairemont High, a predominantly white school, by Mary Catherine Swanson, a member of the English department. Untracking became a way to educate minority students bussed to Clairemont from predominantly ethnic minority schools in Southeast San Diego in response to court-ordered desegregation. Unwilling to segregate African-American and Latino students into a separate, compensatory curriculum, Swanson and the Clairemont faculty placed the bussed students in regular college-preparatory classes. The expressed goals of the AVID program are to motivate and prepare underachieving students from linguistic and ethnic minority groups and low-income students of any ethnicity to perform well in high school and to seek a college education.

AVID soon spread beyond Clairemont High School. One of Swanson's colleagues went to Madison High School; she helped introduce AVID there in 1984. In 1986, Swanson was called to the San Diego County Office of Education, charged with the responsibility of implementing the AVID untracking model county-wide. Between 1986 and 1989 three other schools within the San Diego Unified School District adopted the AVID model of untracking low-achieving students. In the spring semester of 1987, the school board of the San Diego City Schools mandated the adoption of AVID in every high school. By 1991, 11 other city schools, two schools in near-by districts, 50 high schools in San Diego County, and 84 high schools outside the county had introduced AVID programs.

AVID coordinators select students for the program. Low-income ethnic and linguistic minority students with average to high scores on the *Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills* (*CTBS*) and a C average in junior high school grades are eligible for AVID. After these high-potential/low-performance students are identified, their parents are advised. Those parents who agree to support their children's participation in the AVID program sign contracts to demonstrate their cooperation.

Students are placed in a special AVID course that they take as an elective in three of their four high school years. This class meets every day for a regular class period. Within this special elective course, AVID advocates a distinctive approach to curriculum and instruction; the acronym for this approach is WIC, which stands for writing, inquiry, and collaboration (Swanson, no date).

Writing is seen as a tool of learning. In the AVID classroom, students are taught a special form of note-taking, called the Cornell system. Students are instructed to jot detailed notes from their academic classes in a wide, right-hand margin of a notebook and, as homework, to develop questions based on the notes in a narrow, left-hand column. These questions are to be used the following day in the AVID class. In addition to note-taking, the students are asked to keep "learning logs" (thoughts and reactions to the classes, to learning, and to studying) and to practice "quick writes" (thoughts about a poem or story, written quickly without editing) (Swanson, no date).

Inquiry refers to the relationship between tutors (students recruited from local colleges) and the students in the elective AVID class. The program provides tutors to the AVID teacher, who work in the AVID classroom. Tutors are trained to lead study

groups in such subjects as math or English. Group activity is based on the notes and questions that students recorded in their notebooks. Tutors are trained not to give answers. With help from their tutors, AVID students clarify their thoughts based on their own questions. AVID insists on the inquiry method to keep the AVID class from becoming a glorified study hall or homework session (Swanson, no date) and to help students become independent thinkers.

Collaboration is the instructional strategy of having students work together to achieve instructional goals. Collaborative groups or study teams enable students to serve as sources of information and feedback for each other. Collaboration, AVID asserts, shifts the responsibility for learning from the teacher, who directs lessons, to the students, who participate with each other and with the teacher (Swanson, no date).

AVID promotes the integration of WIC methodologies into the academic classes that AVID students take. To facilitate this diffusion of effective teaching strategies, AVID conducts summer institutes. Each school that is implementing AVID is invited to send an interdisciplinary team to the workshop. The team consists of the school principal, the head counselor, the AVID coordinator, and instructional leaders from the English, foreign language, history, science, and mathematics departments. While at the institute, the team is encouraged to use the three AVID methods—writing, inquiry, and collaboration—with all students, not just AVID students. The interdisciplinary team is invited to return to the institute in subsequent years to learn how to diffuse the AVID methodologies throughout the school. The summer institute is supplemented by monthly workshops conducted during the subsequent school year, semi-annual site team meetings, and semi-annual site visitations by County Office AVID staff (Swanson, no date).

The AVID Center suggests a basic plan for the weekly instructional activities within AVID classrooms. Two school days are designated tutorial days. On these days, students work in small groups with the assistance of a tutor. On two other days, writing as a tool for learning is emphasized. On these days, students engage in a variety of activities, including essay writing for their academic classes and college applications. One day a week, usually Friday, is "motivational day." Guest speakers are invited to address the class, and field trips to colleges are scheduled on these days.

Tracking the Untracking Experiment in San Diego

Using official school records, observations in classrooms, and interviews of students, teachers, parents, and school officials, we (Mehan et al., 1994) have been tracking the San Diego untracking effort since 1990. The San Diego City Schools (SDCS) kindly supplied us with the cumulative school records (CSRs) of AVID students in the classes of 1990, 1991, and 1992. We used information from the CSRs to determine students' ethnicity and to calculate their academic record in high school (e.g., AVID classes taken, CTBS scores, college preparatory courses taken and completed, etc.).

Of the 1,053 SDCS students in Grades 9 - 12 enrolled in AVID, 353 students in 14 high schools had completed three years of AVID by the time that they graduated from high school in 1990, 1991, or 1992. We also identified 288 students who entered AVID at the same time as the 353 AVID graduates, but who left AVID after one semester or one year.

In order to determine students' post-graduation activities, we attempted to interview the 353 graduates of the classes of 1990, 1991, and 1992, and the 288 students who started but did not complete AVID. We were able to interview 248 of the program graduates and 146 of the program leavers. We asked both groups of students what they had done since high school graduation (i. e., whether they had enrolled in four- or two-year colleges or were working). In order to place students' college enrollment and work information in context, we asked students about their family background (e.g., parents' education, languages spoken in the home). We also discussed their high school and AVID experiences with them. This information helped us determine whether

untracking helps students from low-income and underrepresented backgrounds enroll in college.

To measure the socioeconomic background of students, we considered their parents' income and educational attainment. We calculated the parents' median income using census track information from the 1990 census supplied to us by the San Diego Association of Governments (SANDAG). We obtained information about parents' education through our interviews with AVID students.

In order to understand the success of untracking, we went beyond correlational data and examined classroom practices and organizational processes. To do so, we conducted case studies of 8 of the 17 high schools in the San Diego Unified School District that are participating in this untracking effort. We chose high schools in the San Diego district because AVID started there and because that was the only district in San Diego County that had computerized student records. We chose the eight schools based on their students' ethnic enrollments, their college enrollment rates, and, of course, their willingness to participate in the study.

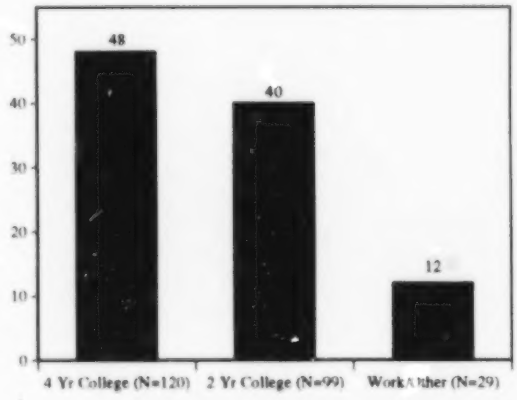
UNTRACKING AND COLLEGE ENROLLMENT

To determine the educational consequences of placing low-achieving students in college preparatory courses with their high-achieving peers, we will compare the college enrollment rates of 248 AVID students who graduated in 1990, 1991, and 1992 to the enrollment rates of three other groups of students: (1) 742 students who graduated in 1991 from a number of high schools in the SDCS district; (2) 7,964,000 students who graduated from U.S. high schools in 1990; and (3) 146 students who left the AVID program after participating for one year or less. These comparisons will provide us insight into the value of organizing schools to emphasize an academic curriculum as an alternative to compensatory education for underrepresented students. The college enrollment records of students who completed three years of AVID by contrast to those who completed one year will be particularly instructive for determining the effect of the program.

The College Enrollment of AVID Students

This untracking program has been successful in preparing its students for college. Figure 1 shows that 120 of the 248 students (48%) who completed three years of AVID reported enrolling in four-year colleges, 99 (40%) reported enrolling in two-year or junior colleges, and the remaining 29 students (12%) said they are working or are involved in such other activities as church service, voluntary work, or traveling.

Figure 1: The College Enrollment of AVID Students

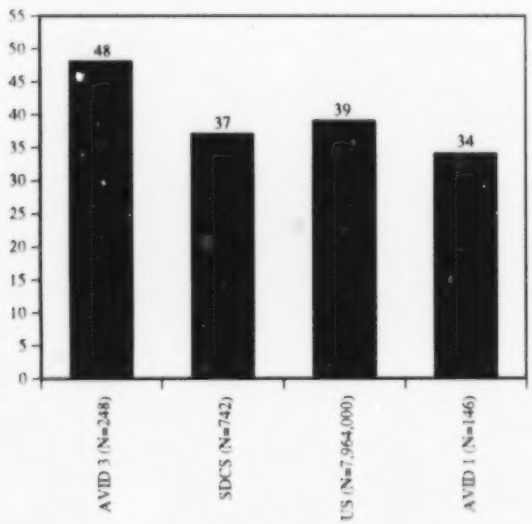


Activities Since High School Graduation (N=248)

Of the 120 students attending four-year colleges, 52 (43%) are enrolled in colleges within the California State University (CSU) system, 29 (24%) are enrolled in colleges in the University of California (UC) system, and the remaining 39 students are enrolled in a variety of private universities in and out of California. Most of the UC and CSU enrollees have stayed close to home; 18 of the 29 (62%) UC enrollees attend the University of California, San Diego (UCSD), whereas 42 of the 52 (81%) CSU enrollees attend San Diego State University (SDSU).

Figure 2 allows us to compare the college enrollment rates of the 248 students who graduated in 1990, 1991, and 1992, after participating in AVID for three years, with the rates of three other groups: (1) students who graduated in 1991 from a number of high schools in the SDCS district, (2) students who graduated from U. S. high schools in 1990, and (3) students who started in AVID but left within one year. In Figure 2 and all subsequent figures, we will refer to students who completed AVID as "AVID 3" and students who left after one year as "AVID 1."

Figure 2. The Enrollment of AVID, SDCS, and US Students in Four-Year Colleges



The AVID four-year college enrollment rate of 48% compares favorably to the local average and the national average. Bell (1993) surveyed 742 students who graduated from San Diego high schools in 1991. He found that 37% of that class went on to four-year colleges, 34% attended two-year colleges, and 29% reported working or doing other things. The American Council on Education reported that 39% of the 20 million students who graduated from U.S. high schools in 1990 enrolled in four-year colleges. This means that the four-year college enrollment rate of AVID students is higher than the local and national rates.

The 48% four-year college enrollment rate of students who participated in AVID for three years also compares favorably with the four-year college enrollment rate of students who completed one year or less of AVID. Our interviews with the 146 AVID leavers revealed that 34% of them enrolled in college within a year of their graduation from high school. The difference in college enrollment rates between these two groups suggests that the AVID untracking program has an effect on students' career choices after they complete high school. The longer they stay in the program, the better their college enrollment.

The 48% figure for enrollment in four-year colleges is important, because while U. S. students from underrepresented groups are not going to college in large numbers, the number of jobs requiring college education is increasing (NCEE, 1987). In fact, students across the nation are enrolling more often in two-year colleges than they are enrolling in four-year colleges. From 1978 to 1988, two-year colleges increased their enrollments by 21% whereas four-year colleges increased theirs by only 14% (Carter & Wilson, 1991).

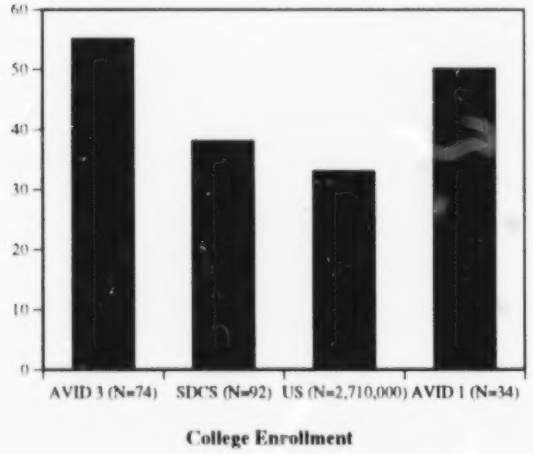
The College Enrollment of African-American Students

Even though more African-American students have been enrolling in college since the Civil Rights era, their enrollment figures are still below the college enrollment figures of white students: 33% of white students who graduated from U.S. high schools in 1970 enrolled in college, and 39% of white students who graduated from high school in 1989 enrolled in college (Carter & Wilson, 1991).

Figure 3 shows that 55% of African-American students who participated in AVID for three years attend four-year colleges; 50% who participated in AVID for one year attend four-year colleges; and 38% of African-American students who attended SDCS high schools attend four-year colleges. The national average for four-year college enrollment (33%) is

slightly lower than the SDCS average (38%). These data indicate that African-American AVID students, whether they participate in AVID for one or three years, are enrolling in college at rates that are considerably higher than the local and national averages.

Figure 3. The Enrollment of African-American Students in Four-Year Colleges



A large number of African-American students across the nation are enrolling in Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs). In 1990, approximately 17% of African Americans in college were enrolled in HBCUs (Carter & Wilson, 1991). A similar trend is found among African-American students in San Diego; 21% of African-American graduates from the classes of 1990-1992 enrolled in Historically Black Colleges and Universities. Likewise, 26% of the African-American students who began in AVID, but left after one year, enrolled in HBCUs the fall after they graduated from high school.

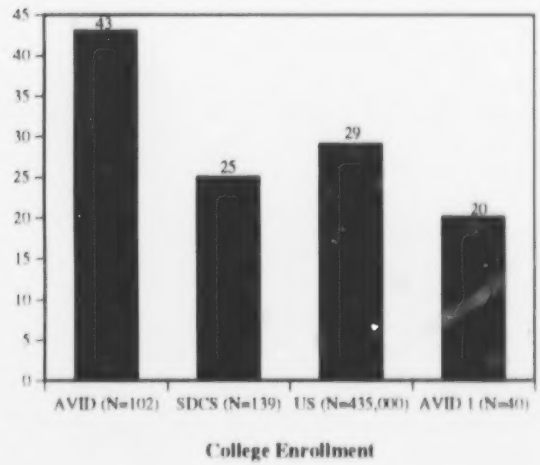
The college enrollment of African-American students who participate in AVID is important because the gap in college enrollment rates between whites and African Americans has been fairly constant during the last decade. African Americans made relatively little progress in achieving parity in college participation in the latter half of the 1980s. In fact, the gap between college enrollment rates of African Americans and whites has widened since the 1970s (Carter & Wilson, 1991).

The College Enrollment of Latino Students

Latinos have made only modest gains in college enrollment in the past decade. Although the overall number of Latinos enrolled in the nation's colleges and universities has increased since the 1970s, the college enrollment rate of Latinos may be declining. Between 1988 and 1990, the total number of Latino students enrolled in college rose by 11% from 680,000 to 758,000 students (Carter & Wilson, 1991). The rate of enrollment, however, has declined since 1976. In 1972, 25.8% of the Latinos who graduated from high school went on to college. For two years, 1975 and 1976, this figure increased to 36%, but declined to 29% in 1990 (Carter & Wilson, 1991). Furthermore, more Latino students attend two-year colleges than four-year colleges. As of 1988 (the last year for which this information is available), 56% of Latino students enrolling in college went to two-year colleges (Carter & Wilson, 1991).

By contrast, the Latino students who participated in AVID for three years are enrolling in college in numbers greater than the national and local average: 43% of Latino AVID students enroll in four-year colleges, whereas the SDCS average is 25%, and the national average is 29%. Furthermore, the college enrollment rates correlate to the amount of time students participate in the AVID program. Those Latino students who participate in AVID for three years enroll in four-year colleges at a 43% rate, whereas those who left the program after one year enroll in four-year colleges at a 20% rate. This finding is especially impressive because the national Latino college enrollment rate is not increasing. (See Figure 4.)

Figure 4: The Enrollment of Latino Students in Four-Year Colleges

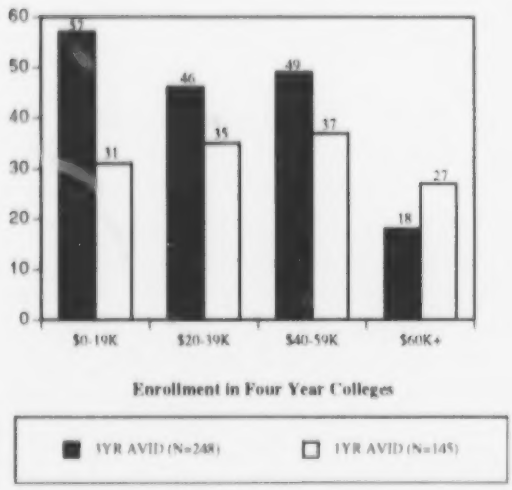


Parents' Socioeconomic Status and Students' College Enrollment

Socioeconomic status (SES) is normally measured using some combination of parents' occupation, income, and educational level. Our indicator of parents' income is the family's median household income as calculated from census track data. Parents' education is recorded from our interviews with AVID graduates. Figure 5 shows the college enrollment of students in the untracking experiment according to the median income of their parents and the number of years the students spent in the program.

Let us first consider the group of students who completed three years of AVID. If we disregard the 11 students from the $60K+ group, we find that the students who come from the lowest income strata enroll in four- year colleges in greater proportion than students who come from higher income strata: 57% of three-year AVID students whose parents earn less than $20,000 enroll in four-year colleges. That figure is greater than the college enrollment figure of the three-year AVID students in the $20 - 39K and the $40 - 59K range. Now, examining the college enrollment records of students who completed one year of AVID, we find that 31% of students from the lowest income group and 35% of the students from the $20-39K income group enroll in college, whereas 37% of the students in the $40 - 59K income group enroll in college.

Figure 5: AVID Parents' Income and Students' College Enrollment



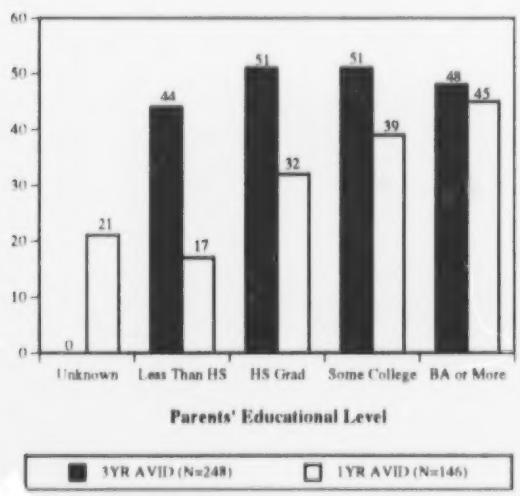
Thus, the college enrollment record of the group of students that leave AVID is highly correlated with their parents' income; the higher the parents' income, the more likely their children are to enroll in college. We do not find this linear correlation for the group of students who have completed three years of AVID. Students from low-income families enroll in college at rates that are higher than students who come from more well-to-do families.

When we compare the college enrollment rates of the two groups of AVID students at each income level, we find that (with the exception of the $60K+ group) the students who have completed three years of AVID enroll in college at a higher rate than the students who have completed one year or less of AVID. The most striking difference appears in the lowest income group. Three-year AVID students who come from this income group enroll in college at almost twice the rate of one-year AVID students (57% vs. 31%). In the higher income brackets, the enrollment gap is not quite as dramatic, but is still significant. Three-year AVID students who come

from families who earn between $20,000 and $39,999 enroll in college 11% more often than students who have completed one year of AVID (46% vs. 35%). Three-year AVID students who come from families who earn between $40,000 and $59,999 enroll in college 12% more often than students who have completed one year of AVID (49% vs. 37%).

The argument that this untracking program is suppressing the effects of SES gains support when we examine students' college enrollment in relation to parents' education. Recall that 48% of the students who completed three years of AVID enrolled in four-year colleges, and 34% of the students who completed one year of AVID enrolled in four-year colleges in the fall after they graduated from high school. Figure 6 arrays the college enrollment of one-year and three-year AVID students according to the education that their parents obtained.

Figure 6: Parents' Education and Students' College Enrollment



First, considering three-year AVID students, we find that those students whose parents took college courses or graduated from college do not enroll in college in greater numbers than students whose parents have no more than a high school diploma. In fact, students whose parents are high school graduates enroll in college as often as students whose parents have had college experience; 51% of the former group and 51% of the latter go to college.

We find a different, in fact linear, relationship within the AVID leaver group. The higher the educational level of one-year AVID parents, the higher the college enrollment rate of their children. Although only 17% of the one-year AVID students whose parents have less than a high school education and 32% of the first-year AVID students whose parents have earned a high school diploma enroll in college, 39% of the students whose parents have earned some college credit and 45% of the students whose parents have earned a bachelor of arts degree enroll in college.

At each level of their parents' education, students who have participated in AVID for three years have a better college enrollment record than students who participated in AVID for one year. When we consider the students whose parents do not have high school degrees, we find those who participate in AVID for three years enroll in college almost three times more than those who participated in AVID for only one year (44% vs. 17%). When we consider the students whose parents have completed high school, we also find a difference in the college enrollment rates of three-year and one-year AVID students (51% vs. 32%). The gap in college enrollment is not as great when we consider the group of students whose parents have some college, yet students with more untracking experience still outstrip students with less untracking experience: 51% of the three-year AVID students enroll in college compared to 39% of the one-year AVID students. The difference in college enrollment is least among the group of students whose parents have completed college: 48% to 45%.

Summary: Untracking Works

Students from underrepresented ethnic and linguistic backgrounds who participated in the San Diego untracking experiment are enrolling in college in numbers that exceed local and national averages. Forty eight percent of the untracked students who graduated in the classes of 1990, 1991, and 1992

enrolled in four-year colleges. This figure compares favorably with the local average of 37% and the national average of 39%.

The college enrollment rate for students who participated in AVID for three years is also superior to the enrollment rate of students who participated in AVID for one year or less. This difference implies that the longer students stay in the untracking program, the greater its impact on their college enrollment.

The factors usually associated with SES (e.g., parents' income, parents' education) are not responsible for the impressive college enrollment figures of these untracked students. Students who come from the lowest income strata enroll in four-year colleges at equal or higher rates than students who come from higher income strata. Students whose parents have less than a college education enroll in four-year colleges more often than students whose parents have a college education.

These data invite us to look more closely at the educational practices of the untracking program in order to understand the reasons for its success. In the following sections, we explore the idea that the academic success of untracked students is the result of institutional practices operating within the program.

EXPLICIT SOCIALIZATION INTO IMPLICIT ACADEMIC CULTURE

There are implicit, often unstated dimensions of instruction that accompany the more obvious, explicit, academic dimensions. Whether they call it the "hidden curriculum" (Apple, 1982; Apple & Weis, 1983; Dreeben, 1968; Keddie, 1971; Young, 1971) or the "culture of the classroom" (Cazden & Mehan, 1988; Mehan, 1992), commentators suggest that certain ways of talking, thinking, and acting are demanded by the conventions of schooling. The imperative to transmit a certain body of knowledge from teacher to students, the concern for factually correct information, the use of "known information questions" in verbal instruction, an insistence on text-based knowledge, the high value attached to naming, labeling, and categorizing information, especially out of context, are part and parcel of this culture. Like other aspects of culture, the unique features of the classroom are tacit and therefore must be learned implicitly.

The interaction that occurs in the home maps onto this culture of the classroom. The discourse patterns and socialization practices of upper-income and middle-income families resemble those of the classroom, whereas the discourse patterns and socialization practices of low-income families, especially those from linguistic and ethnic minority backgrounds, do not resemble those of the classroom. Although coherent and systematic, the discourse patterns and socialization practices of low-income families do not match so neatly the often implicit demands of the classroom culture (Heath, 1982, 1986; Tharp & Gallimore, 1988).

The match between the socialization practices implicitly learned at home and the culture of the classroom appears to give middle-class students advantages over their lower-class counterparts. The cultural knowledge or "cultural capital" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Bourdieu, 1986) that middle-income and high-income families pass on to their children maps onto the knowledge expected of them in school, whereas the knowledge passed on by low-income families does not match the knowledge expected of students in school. Because the language used by middle-income parents matches the often implicit demands of the school, middle-income children are being equipped with the very skills and techniques that are rewarded in the classroom and on tests. Likewise, because the language used by low-income parents does not match the discourse of the classroom, low-income children are not being provided with the background knowledge that is so important in the classroom and on tests.

Networks of relationships or "social capital" (Bourdieu, 1986) enable resources to accrue to people because they belong to and participate in certain groups. This social capital also enables elite families to assist their children. Because they have

beer to college themselves, well-to-do parents know what is expected of their own college-bound children. They can advise their children concerning what courses to take, how to study, and how to take tests. Because they are more likely to have more money and time, middle-income parents adopt strategies for assisting their students that are approved and validated by the school (Lareau, 1989).

The relationship between implicit socialization and academic success has particular relevance for the students in this study. The linguistic and ethnic minority students who have been untracked (i. e., placed in academically rigorous college preparatory programs) most often come from low-income families. As a result, most of them have not been immersed in the implicit socialization process that accrues social and cultural capital to the sons and daughters of well-to-do families.

Based on our observations in eight schools and on our interviews with students and teachers, we note that AVID coordinators are engaged in an explicit socialization process in their classrooms that parallels the implicit socialization process that occurs in well-to-do families. Students who have been selected into this program devote one academic period per day, five days per week for the 180-day school year to a specially designed course, often in lieu of an extra-curricular activity or another elective course. AVID coordinators explicitly teach aspects of the implicit culture of the classroom and the hidden curriculum of the school. Furthermore, they mediate the relationship between families, high schools, and colleges by serving as advocates and sponsors of AVID students.

Teaching Study Skills

AVID students are given explicit instruction in a special method of note-taking that stresses specific techniques for compiling main ideas, abstracting key concepts, and identifying questions that guide analysis. Students are required to apply these techniques in notebooks that they keep for their academic courses. Tutors collect and check these notebooks once each week or once every two weeks. Students are graded on the completeness and quality of their notes. When asked what helps them the most, eight students from one high school singled out the importance of learning to organize and manage their time and learning to take good notes.

Test-taking skills were also taught in all AVID classrooms, but were differentially emphasized. At a minimum, students studied vocabulary items likely to be found on the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT). When a more extensive approach to test preparation was taken, students were provided explicit instruction in ways to eliminate distracting answers on multiple choice questions. Students were also taught strategies for approximating answers and probabilities about the success of guessing. One AVID teacher devoted two successive weeks to SAT preparation that included practicing with vocabulary items, administering practice tests, reviewing wrong answers, and learning strategies for taking tests. This teacher reviewed with her students the kinds of analogies typically found on the SAT. This teacher also sent her students to an expert math teacher for assistance on math test items. She justified the time she devoted to this test-taking review by explaining that she was teaching her students the same test-taking techniques found in the expensive Princeton Review SAT preparation class.

Teaching the College Entry Process

Although writing, note-taking, test-taking, and vocabulary-building strategies were taught routinely in the eight AVID programs we studied from 1991 to 1993, the most conspicuous and intriguing teacher-led activity revolved around the complicated process involved in applying to and enrolling in college. Seniors were given extra coaching on how to write statements of purpose and how to fill out college application and financial aid forms. Students were reminded about test and application deadlines. At one school, for instance, students had to complete an AVID assignment each week in which they performed writing and/or reading tasks in preparation for the college application experience. The junior class at another school was given a handout, entitled "Choos-

ing Your College," that contained a checklist of information typically found in college catalogs. Students were instructed to fill in the application information for a particular college according to the assigned checklist. This research task was intended to make AVID students more familiar with college catalogs and help them choose an appropriate college.

Students received very specific counseling information about applying to college. One AVID coordinator facilitated the application process by using a packet, "Planning and Preparation for College," which is a systematic list of instructions that tells students about each step of the college application process. The process and deadlines were reviewed often. The coordinator's constant vigilance minimized students' opportunities to slip up.

Mr. Frankfurter, the AVID coordinator at Golden Gate High School, has constructed a particularly elaborate socialization regimen that covers all aspects of the college application process. Even though application packets are often available to students in counseling offices, Frankfurter personally obtains the application packets from the testing agency and distributes them to the students in his class to insure that his AVID students are registered for the SAT. To assist his students with application fee waivers, he drives to local colleges to pick up the necessary waiver forms. This extra effort has paid off; Frankfurter's AVID students have been able to get application fees waived by as many as four colleges. In addition, he makes special trips to local colleges to pick up large numbers of application packets so that each of his students will have one. To convince his students that finances should not limit college opportunities, he distributes information on more than 175 scholarships to his students.

Starting in October of each year, Mr. Frankfurter works with seniors as a separate group four days per week on all aspects of the college application process. In the first session during the 1992 - 93 school year, he presented to the seniors a timeline that marked application deadlines. From that point on, he checked each student's timeline weekly, to insure that students were on time and on task.

In subsequent sessions, the seniors filled out photocopies of applications, line by line, from California State University, Univeristy of California, and University of San Diego. After the draft applications were completed, Frankfurter checked them for accuracy; then students completed the actual applications. Wanting to insure that his students had a college option close to home, he advised every student to apply to San Diego State University, either as a first choice or as a backup.

Later in October, Frankfurter told the students to start thinking about letters of recommendation. He advised them to ask their junior - year English teacher for a letter of recommendation unless they did not do well in that class. Frankfurter told the seniors they could ask, in addition to their teachers, religious leaders and employers. Frankfurter himself writes over 100 letters of recommendation each year for his students.

Many of Frankfurter's special sessions with seniors are devoted to helping students complete their personal statements and essays. He works with each student, reminding him or her to include significant aspects of their biographies. When students have been pressed for time or lacked the skill to type, Frankfurter has typed final applications for them. Frankfurter's senior students at Golden Gate High School told us this essay-writing was easy for them after so many years of practice.

While students were completing financial aid requests in January, Frankfurter passed on information about the intricacies of the financial aid process. To speed up the application process, he encouraged students to have their parents file their income tax forms early, so financial information could be included with students' applications. He also addressed the interpersonal side of the college application process. Acknowledging that some parents may oppose students' leaving home, Frankfurter advised students to start preparing their parents early, by talking at home about going to college.

Even students with excellent grades acknowledged that, without AVID, they would have missed

application deadlines. Students who were not in AVID reinforced this impression:

> I missed taking the PSAT because I wasn't in AVID and I didn't know about it. One of my AVID friends asked me if I was going to take the test but it was too late to sign up. You don't know about this stuff unless you are in AVID.

Teaching Conflict-Resolution Strategies

In addition to scaffolding the college application process, AVID teachers explicitly teach conflict-resolution strategies as part of their curriculum. Low-income students, both minority and white, often have different codes for resolving conflict than their teachers. Lisa Gonzalez, one of the four AVID coordinators at Keeneland High School, extends her coaching to include the organization of the phrases that students should employ when talking to their teachers. "Don't ask if you can make up an exam," she says. "Ask politely *when* the next make up is. If you miss a class, don't say 'I'll get an excuse.' Go to the attendance office, get a copy of the teacher's roll sheet, and say 'I'm sorry I missed your class, but here's my excuse.' " The conversational prompts that Gonzalez gives her students emphasize the importance of polite conversation, of not putting teachers on the defensive, and of assuming teachers are agreeable people who make honest mistakes.

Gonzalez also utilizes students' knowledge and past experience to teach conflict-resolution strategies. When two Latinas told her they were having trouble in their algebra class, Gonzalez did not give them advice. Instead, she asked other AVID students in her class to provide suggestions:

> Teacher: What are some of the things they can do?
> Student: Study ahead and formulate specific questions.
> Student: Go to tutoring after school.
> Student: Check out library books on the subject [other math texts].
> Student: Talk to someone who understands the teacher.

Gonzalez then praised the class for offering positive strategies for doing well in class. A few days later, Gonzalez asked one of the students who had asked for help to tell the class how she resolved her problem. In eliciting this testimony, the AVID coordinator was encouraging the student to reflect on positive achievements for her own and others' benefit.

Using students to coach students in conflict resolution has the added benefit of encouraging students to be autonomous from instead of dependent upon adults when identifying ways to solve problems. In this way, students learn interactive skills that facilitate life within, and perhaps beyond, the high school.

Teacher Advocacy

Another role AVID teachers adopt is that of student advocate. When interviewed, students at several schools we studied consistently reported that AVID teachers intervene in the academic maze on behalf of their students. If students are absent, teachers call them in the evening. By talking to their AVID teachers, AVID students obtain missing assignments and make sure not to be penalized for their absence.

The coordinator at Monrovia High School circulated to all teachers of advanced courses a list with the names and classes of the AVID students. She informed the teachers that the AVID students would be receiving extra help in their courses, but if they were having any problems, she was to be contacted. This strategy shifts the burden of failure away from the student and toward the teacher who must monitor the student's progress.

We observed several episodes that confirmed student opinion about the importance of teacher advocacy. One incident occurred when a new "tardy sweep" policy was implemented at Saratoga High. One of the AVID students was late for a class. According to the new policy on tardiness, she would be punished by spending the remainder of the period in a detention room. The AVID student was not allowed to make up missing work or tests. She was irate. She and her friends complained to Mrs. Lincoln, her AVID coordinator:

> I'm just trying to get an education. I just want to learn. They are keeping me from learning, just for being a minute late.

Mrs. Lincoln arranged for the vice principal to hear the students' complaints the very next day. Many students affirmed that no one would have listened to them had they not been AVID students and had Mrs. Lincoln not acted on their behalf. Clearly, this teacher has adopted an advocacy role that extends beyond traditional teaching duties.

Advocacy on behalf of students is not limited to the academic realm. Mrs. Lincoln has intervened in suicide attempts, visited sick students, and called parents if she felt that their child was employed too many hours outside of school.

When Holly, a senior at Saratoga, had been missing a great deal of school, Mrs. Lincoln discussed the situation with her. Evidently, Holly had been baby-sitting a neglected young relative. Holly's grades had fallen drastically. Mrs. Lincoln talked to the head counselor to prevent Holly from being expelled. She then helped Holly continue with her application to SDSU, and she saw to it that other professionals could relieve Holly of the baby-sitting responsibility. By the end of the year, Holly's grades had improved, she had been accepted at SDSU, and both Mrs. Lincoln and the head counselor were working with Holly's father to insure that personal barriers would not prevent her from going to college.

Clearly, these teachers' interventions were instrumental in keeping students on the college track. Although students, especially those from low-income families, continue to labor under heavy academic and social pressure, they receive encouragement and support from dedicated AVID teachers. Not all interventions, however, are successful. The resources that an innovative school program such as AVID can muster are limited. Sometimes resources are not sufficient to overcome the constraints imposed by the overwhelming practical circumstances in the lives of AVID students.

Jamala is one such student whose personal life obstructed her education. When we interviewed a group of AVID students at Keeneland High School and asked them who planned to go on to college, everyone in the group responded in the affirmative. When asked if they had planned to go to college before they started AVID, most, but not all, replied that they had. Jamala was one of the few students who had not had college plans before AVID; she just recently decided to go. When asked what led her to change her mind, she replied in this manner:

> I didn't want to be like the people in my family. Half haven't even graduated from high school. They stick together, but they don't go anywhere together. I found out more specifics about college. AVID showed me that I had a choice.

Jamala's AVID teacher, Mr. Johnson, confirmed her story. Johnson recalled that Jamala "fought me all the way" during her first (freshman) year. Jamala came back from her sophomore year, however, a changed person. In her third year in Keeneland's AVID program, Jamala was much more positive and motivated. Then her life circumstances changed considerably. Jamala was having trouble in her chemistry class and stopped going. Because Jamala was avoiding school and staying home, her mother, an unemployed high school graduate, suggested that Jamala look after her younger siblings regularly and attend an "alternative" (continuation) school. Jamala decided to follow her mother's instructions and left Keeneland. Johnson put Jamala in contact with Ms. Gonzalez, the AVID coordinator at the continuation school, and Gonzalez told him that Jamala still has college plans. It will be more difficult for Jamala to achieve this goal, however, from a continuation school that does not have a comprehensive college-preparatory curriculum. Although Jamala attributed part of her new ambition to the choices that AVID made her see, her high aspirations were not enough. The scaffolding AVID provided Jamala was not sufficient to sustain her ambitions in the face of a weak academic record coupled with overwhelming financial constraints.

Jamala's story is informative beyond the tragedy of her individual life. The existing social resources invested by AVID — a special class that meets once per day for 180 days, a dedicated teacher who serves as an advocate, college tutors — are not sufficient to propel all students down the college track. To reach Jamala and students like her,

more extensive resources are necessary. To be sure, if AVID deployed more extensive social support resources, then the program could help more low-achieving students. However, such school reform efforts as untracking are not a panacea. Unless the world of work is reorganized to provide more job opportunities with viable career ladders, then changes in the organization of schooling (such changes as this untracking program) will not make a significant difference.

Bridging

In addition to mediating the life of students in high school, AVID teachers mediate the college entry process. Visits to colleges were a recurrent feature of AVID programs in all the schools we studied or observed on a more casual basis. All the programs organized day-long field trips to colleges in the local area, most notably SDSU and UCSD. Almost all the programs organized trips to schools that are some distance away. More extensive visits were less frequent. Of particular note, the AVID coordinator at Pimlico takes her students to Northern California schools and also arranges a lengthy trip to Historically Black Colleges and Universities every other year. For many students, these field trips provided the first opportunity to see a college campus. While on college campuses, students visit classes, talk to college students, and, in some cases, visit dorms.

The following comment underlines the importance these trips play for AVID students:

> Field trips were great. I didn't even know what a college looked like until Mrs. Lincoln took us. Its like eating a cookie. It really tempts us to eat another one. You've smelled it and seen it and you want to buy it really bad.

"Career days" are another mediating mechanism in AVID programs. Guest speakers are invited to class to discuss their professions or occupations. These career talks are always geared to those occupations that require a four-year college degree.

In the pages above, we described the elaborate socialization process Alex Frankfurter implemented at Golden Gate High School. His personal involvement in the application process does not end when students complete college application forms, however. He personally mails the applications, sometimes affixing his own stamps if students have forgotten them. He personally delivers the applications to one of the local colleges and goes through each application with the Equal Opportunity Program (EOP) admissions officer there.

In short, AVID teachers first introduce students to the possibility of attending college and then lead them through the college application process. In that respect, AVID coordinators act in ways that are similar to college advisors at elite college preparatory schools, who visit colleges, make numerous phone calls, compile elaborate dossiers, and write well documented letters on behalf of their students (Cookson & Persell, 1985).

CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

We have examined the educational consequences of untracking as an alternative to compensatory education and remedial tracking for underachieving high school students. We found that the college enrollment rate for students who participate in the AVID untracking program for three years is higher than the college enrollment rate for students who did not participate. Ethnic and linguistic minority students from low-income backgrounds who have been untracked do as well as or better than students from more well-to-do backgrounds.

These data suggest that the AVID untracking program is suppressing the well established effects of parents' income on students' academic achievement. This is an important finding, because the so-called "reproduction" school of thought on social class and educational attainment (e.g., Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Bowles & Gintis, 1976; MacLaren, 1989; MacLeod, 1987; Willis, 1977) suggests that

students from low-income and poorly educated families are hampered by structural constraints relative to the children from middle- and upper-income families. As a result of these constraints, the sons and daughters of low-income and poorly educated families wind up in the same kinds of jobs as their parents. They do not progress upward through the occupational structure; their low positions are maintained, generation after generation.

Our data show that such students are not necessarily trapped by their social circumstances. Students from the lowest income and educational levels are attaining a prestigious and economically important goal, enrollment in college. This means social environments can be re-arranged, at least under certain circumstances, in order to facilitate educational opportunities.

Social Supports Contribute to the Success of Untracking

A system of social supports contribute to the success of this untracking effort. Students are taught explicitly about the often implicit hidden curriculum of the school. Teachers serve as mediators between students and both the high school and college educators. Among the most visible social supports in AVID classrooms is the teaching of test-taking, note-taking, and study strategies. By teaching these academic skills, AVID is giving students explicit instruction in the hidden curriculum of the school. That is, AVID teaches explicitly in school that which middle-income students learn implicitly at home. In Bourdieu's (1986) terms, AVID gives low-income students some of the cultural capital at school that is similar to the cultural capital that more economically advantaged parents give to their children at home.

Teacher advocacy (which is what an AVID teacher does to help a student in high school) and bridging (which is what an AVID teacher does to assist a student in moving between high school and college) complement this explicit socialization process. The success of the San Diego untracking experiment is due, in large part, to the fact that the academic life of AVID students is supported by dedicated teachers who enter the lives of their students and serve as mediators for the students, the high school, and the college. By expanding the definition of their teaching role to include the advocacy and sponsorship of students, AVID coordinators encourage success and help remove impediments to students' academic achievement.

The teachers' practices of advocacy and sponsorship seem to operate in the way that Bourdieu (1986) says *social capital* works, but these practices have a different institutional base. In Bourdieu's framework, social capital is rooted in the institution of the family, indeed the elite family. Although his conceptualization does not preclude the location of social capital in other institutions, the thrust of his formulation privileges the family as the basis of social capital. Teacher advocacy and institutional sponsorship look like the workings of social capital. Yet these processes are rooted in different soil. They have the school, not the family, as their base. In effect, AVID teachers act like the upper-middle-income parents that Lareau (1989) described and the college advisors at elite boarding schools that Cookson and Persell (1985) described. AVID teachers monitor their students' work and build bridges between high school students and college admissions officers. The students' teachers, not the students' families, provide the "backing of the collectivity," which Bourdieu (1986) says is emblematic of social capital. The students' teachers, not the students' families, "provide a credential which generates 'credit' in the educational world," which Bourdieu (1986, p. 248) says marks the deployment of social capital (cf. Lamont & Lareau, 1988, p. 156).

If schools, not just well-to-do families, can deploy social capital to form productive social networks, then schools can become transformative institutions, not just reproductive institutions. The sons and daughters of less privileged families can gain access to the often invisible networks of relationships that are often reserved for the sons and daughters of more privileged families.

Institutionalizing the Process of Support

As celebrated in the popular press and the popular movie, "Stand and Deliver," Jaime Escalante single-handedly prepared dozens of Latino and Latina students from the barrio of East Los Angeles to pass the dreaded Advanced Placement calculus test. To do so, he transformed the low expectations that the students held of themselves; he changed the cultural expectations that the students' parents held for their children's careers; he knocked down the institutional barriers that his colleagues at Garfield High School erected in his path, and he overcame the thinly veiled racism signaled by officials at ETS after his first batch of students passed the test with similar test profiles (i.e., they had the same answers right and the same answers wrong). Thus portrayed, the Jaime Escalante story is a romantic tale of a modern hero. Escalante works incredibly long hours, without extra pay, suffers antagonism from his family, even survives a heart attack to help his beloved students.

While idealizing a romantic hero who works single-handedly to assist down-and-out students may be satisfying to our cultural self-image, the Jaime Escalante story reinforces many of the points we wish to make in this paper. First, many of the mechanisms that operate to help students gain access to the resources that are highly valued in our society are hidden from view. Second, although students' aspirations and parents' expectations are important for students' success, institutional supports are absolutely essential for students' success. Students must be placed in college - preparatory courses if they are going to go to college. However, academic placement in and of itself is not sufficient. AVID is a successful program because it erects social scaffolds to insure that students who have not had previous experience with academically oriented classes perform well in them. The social scaffolding supporting student placement in college preparatory courses is as important as the academic placement itself.

A third point concerns educational policy more generally. If students, parents, and educators must rely on the superhuman efforts of zealous teachers in order to reduce the gaps between rich and poor, between underachieving and achieving students, then our society is in deep trouble. We must institutionalize the process of support, not rely on the isolated and sometimes random efforts of dedicated teachers to achieve equality.

From Untracking to Detracking

At the present time, AVID selects students with high potential and mid-range grades, places them in academic programs, and then gives them social supports for two or three high school years. Students are placed in college preparatory classes starting in 9th or 10th grade. The existing system of social supports surrounding AVID students (explicit socialization, teacher advocacy, and sponsorship) operates during 180 hours of an elective class each academic year. This academic arrangement with its accompanying social support system is apparently adequate to elevate students with average to high GPAs and CTBS scores to college eligibility. In order to enhance the opportunities of students with average to below average academic records, the academic and social program would have to be deepened and broadened.

The academic program would need to be deepened so that students would spend more time in academic subjects. Instead of the current practice of spending three to five hours a week on laboratory sciences, three to five hours in trigonometry, geometry, or algebra, perhaps two or three times that amount of time would need to be spent with students who enter the program with weak academic records. Deepening the program in this way could be accomplished by extending the school day, the school year, or a combination of both. This recommendation is consistent with Sizer's (1992) idea to lengthen the school calendar from 36 to 42 weeks, and the school day by an hour or two.

Under this proposed arrangement, untracked students would participate in regular laboratory or math courses and in an AVID elective class as is the procedure now. In addition, a second or third session of the academic courses would meet after school, the purpose of which would be to deepen the stu-

dents' knowledge of the work in their academic courses. Next, the school year would be extended so that students who did not grasp the material within the current system of 180 class meetings would have an extra 30 or 40 class meetings to gain mastery.

The social support system accompanying this academic activity would have to be broadened so that students would receive more preparation in test-taking, study skills, and essay writing. Students who enter the program with low grades and low test scores would need more than 180 hours per year of mentoring and tutoring. Perhaps twice that amount would be required. In effect, this is the approach that the highly celebrated Garfield High School teacher, Jaime Escalante, took with his previously low-achieving Latino calculus students. Although he has been rightfully applauded for his charismatic motivational efforts, we have to keep in mind that Escalante also increased exponentially the number of hours, days, and weeks that his students spent in the classroom. Instead of spending 180 hours in business or consumer math classes in one academic year, his students spent three times that amount each year in algebra, trigonometry, or calculus courses (Escalante & Dirmann, 1990).

Of course, there must be a qualitative dimension and a quantitative dimension to transforming an untracking experiment to a full scale detracking activity. An increase of poorly spent instructional time will not help students. Fortunately, educators have introduced a number of promising proposals for improving the quality of classroom instructional practices.

Cooperative learning, the classroom practice of grouping students heterogeneously for the purpose of accomplishing tasks collaboratively, is one such possibility. This practice seems to help low-achieving students improve their classroom performance while helping high-achieving students maintain their classroom performance. Furthermore, cooperative learning seems to work as well for students from linguistic and ethnic minority backgrounds as it does for majority students (Slavin et al., 1989).

The proposals to build instruction on inquiry–solving authentic problems in natural science, math, and social science, reading authentic texts, and writing for meaningful purpose–which are contained in the current round of the California frameworks for instruction, are other provocative possibilities. Employing students' expertise as a resource for classroom instruction (Au & Jordan, 1980; Gonzalez et al., 1993; Roseberry et al., 1992) is another method that holds promise for making school a meaningful experience for disaffected youth.

We propose a sliding scale of social support surrounding rigorous academic instruction. All students would be placed in challenging courses; those students who begin AVID with a high academic record will need less support within AVID than students who have a weak academic record at the start of the program. Such an expansion and deepening of an untracking program like AVID would accomplish two goals. One, AVID would serve better the students it already accepts. Those students with low GPAs and test scores that AVID accepts now would be given a bigger boost toward academic success. Two, AVID would change from its present status as a program that assists a small number of select students to move to the top track (while leaving the tracking system intact) to a program that provides assistance to the broader base of the school population while dismantling the tracking system itself. In short, AVID would shift from an untracking to a detracking effort.

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